Echauz concludes his short account with a description of a religious sacrifice by this group.

The wealth of Negros' growing sugar industry made plundering forages to the lowland quite profitable. The large estates of the hacenderos were rich prizes. William Taft reported:

> In the Spanish times forces of a thousand to fifteen hundred men [Babaylanes] was not at all unusual. They...made forays down into the rich sugar haciendas that are in West Negros and sometimes to the rich planters of eastern Negros [probably at San Carlos and the Bais-Tanjay area] ..."[148]

The contrast between the rich and the poor was especially vivid in western Negros. The wealth of the hacenderos grew with the expansion of sugar agriculture. One American observer, writing in 1901, commented:

> The situation in the Island is somewhat similar to that in Europe during the Middle Ages,--the great families rule the land. The Lazuriaggas [Luzuriagas], the Mapas, the Lacsons, are the Capulets and Montagues of the Island of Negros.[149]

Many of the sugar planters exploited their workers, as was the custom throughout the islands, and most of the abuses that existed during the Spanish period continued under the Negros Republic. The rapidly growing population of Negros increased the number of landless farmers who probably looked enviously on the great holdings of the hacenderos.

The Babaylanes raided and stole from Spaniards and Filipinos alike. They had a set tariff of blackmail which

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[148] Senate Document No. 4242, p. 14.

[149] W. F. Norris, "Legal Conditions in the Island of Negros," The Green Bag, XIV, No. 1, (January, 1902), p. 20.

River valley. Several landlords, residents of the poblacion, have sizeable holdings in Dolog or Common, and part of their share of the corn, rice, or peanuts raised by their tenants is sold for cash. None of these landlords, could in any sense of the word be considered wealthy. The "cash crops" of Caticugan are coconuts, vegetables and guhang, an alcoholic beverage made from the sap of the buri palm. For the majority of the people, guhang is probably the most important of these few "cash crops."

The remainder of this chapter discusses (1) agricultural calendar; (2) caingins; (3) lowland rice and corn agriculture; (4) the manufacture of guhang; (5) minor single crops of Caticugan (coconuts, cassava, camotes, etc.); (6) vegetables and other garden crops (tangkong, tobacco, etc.); (7) farm animals; (carabao, cattle, chickens, etc.); (8) cooperative labor groups; and (9) local agricultural extension activities. Plate XXI shows the land use patterns of Caticugan.[1]

THE AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN

The agricultural calendar of the barriofolk of Caticugan is synchronized with the seasons of southern Negros. Except for a small irrigated area in Barrio Caticugan, the farmers are totally dependent on precipitation of the southwest monsoon. The agricultural calendar should be read with these climatic conditions in mind. (See Chapter II.) The calendar, of course, varies a

1 [See p. 272, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

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Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

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1 [See p. 667 ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sembulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville F. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

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in handicrafts, an attitude usually transmitted by craftsmen to their children, have largely disappeared. Often inferior articles made in the United States are preferred to Philippine-made articles, even when the latter are of better materials and more careful workmanship. The most promising long-range program needed to raise barrio living standards is to increase the productivity of their major activity--more and better farmed land with more abundant harvests.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OAl Philippines
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527 443 ble in the local stores. There are rosaries, religious pictures, ice cream, novel candies, etc. This is the time when the girls and women from the *barrios* make great mounds of rice cakes and sell them at the local fiestas, adding the small profit to the family exchequer. Some of the women from Caticugan went as far away as the fiestas of Giliga-on and Bonawon to sell their food, *guhang* (a mildly alcoholic drink made from the fermented sap of the buri palm), and vegetables. They set up little "cafes" near the fiesta area where one might buy food or drink. Vendors from Dumaguete come to the *barrios*, and particularly the *poblacions*, with their merchandize, establishing their temporary stalls along the roads near the cockpit or gambling area. A lucky catch in a *bonsod* (fish coral) during a *poblacion* fiesta can bring the owner a small fortune overnight.

527 436 The circulation of currency in the *barrios* — where the barter system is still prominent — is at its height during the fiesta. The vendors and gamblers and other activities of the fiesta require money; one cannot barter for a place at the gambling table or for admission to the dance. This is when the bamboo banks are broken and the money used to purchase the necessary fiesta supplies. The fiesta is one of the relatively few occasions (others are weddings, funerals, etc.) when the barriofolk slaughter pigs, goats, cattle and even carabaos. The family "fiesta pig" is killed for *lechon*, having been fattening all year. There is more fish and fresh meat in the market places than at any other time of the year. Young people often go to the city to earn sufficient money to spend during fiesta. The fiesta has become a secular, in ways commercial, enterprise, which requires currency in order for one to participate in many activities. During most of the year, many of the barriofolk in Caticugan earn or spend little money; they barter their way from one need to another need.

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517 181 In summary, the *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta complex has a variety of functions. *First*, the fiesta is the "big blow-out" of the year, anticipated by young and old for often different reasons. There is a singing gaiety in the air, a lightness of step, and a mood of relaxation in a fiesta-invaded locality. As the writer was once told at a fiesta: "This is the time when 'thanks' is redundant." Second, the fiesta affords many persons, particularly in the *poblacion*, an opportunity to validate their social position through a conspicious consumption of wealth, a lavish expression of hospitality. This association of hospitality with food may be traced back to the pre-Spanish culture of the Filipinos. Municipal and provincial officials, prominent visitors and other guests, are treated with extravagant courtesy and an overabundance of generosity. *Third*, the fiesta is an econo-